

RELIGION

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among different tribes. In many of the more civilized sections they are no longer carefully observed. Christians do not resort to them. 776
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[177]
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Sex irregularities are believed to be most abhorrent to the *bg̃ha* and are reputed to have been the cause of most trouble. Among the Bw̃s they are considered to cause the drying up of land and the failure of crops, and are therefore most severely punished by the elders when discovered. In their primitive state the Karens were unusually free from fornication and adultery. The recent transition period, with the breaking down of old customs and before Western ideals have been established, has seen some relaxation of these conditions. 776
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The old epic song about *Ywa*, the Father God and Creator, and this belief in the existence of God are found among all the tribes. It does not, however, play an important part in their daily lives which are taken up with their struggles with the ever-present *nals* and demons. 771
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Those Karens who were in closest contact with the Burmans, as for example the Pwo Karens, took on a thin veneer of Buddhism and went to the pagodas at the full moon and the quarters, but as a rule it was largely a social conforming that did not have a deep spiritual content. 779
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VI

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

Karen is an agglutinated monosyllabic language belonging to the Sinic family of languages. Like the Chinese it has tones, which are important in learning to speak it, for the same sound may have entirely different 194
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194 meanings if spoken in different tones. For example, the
 ● 197 syllable *Meh* may mean 'eye', 'sand', 'tail', 'mole' (on the body), or 'tooth', according to the tone in which it is uttered.

538 Originally the Karens had a mass of unwritten bard
 173 literature, poems and stories handed down orally and recited around the fireplaces, from generation to generation. Some of these were epic poems which related the history of their race, and others folk stories which they told for amusement and which served to keep alive the traditions of their tribes. Many of these stories were much like the Negro folk tales told in America under the title of "Uncle Remus Stories", or like Grimms' Fairy Tales in Europe. In these Karen folk stories the rabbit figures as the wily one as it does in the Negro tales, and as the fox appears in the European stories.

538 Their epic poems have remarkable accounts of the
 773 creation of the world by *Ywa*, who closely resembles the
 524 God of the Hebrew Scriptures. They tell of the origin
 177 of the human race and the expulsion from a garden, which is similar to the story of Paradise Lost. The poems are in five stress lines and are in couplet form like Hebrew poetry. In their earlier days there use to be rhyming contests or "capping rhymes" as an important part of gatherings such as wedding and funeral feasts. At present they only survive among the most primitive villages away from outside influences.

197 There are many dialects of the Karen language—
 212 probably about twenty of them. They fall into six groups: the Sgaw, Pwo, Bwè, Padaung, Karenni and Zayein. The Sgaw and Pwo are the two largest groups. These are the two which have been used in education and in

which books have been printed. Some of the others, 197 ●
especially the Bwè, have been reduced to writing, but the 212
number of those who would use them is so small that it
has not been considered advisable to develop them.

The Sgaw dialect has, as designed by Western scholars, twenty-five consonants which are written on the main writing line and seven vowels which are inserted as diacritical marks either above or below the line, except one which follows the consonant with which it is pronounced. There are five tonal characters which indicate the required inflection. The language is perfectly phonetic. Each character has its invariable pronunciation. For certain guttural letters and the tones (which are not found in the Burmese language) arbitrary adaptations of Burmese letters are used. The spelling consists of all the possible variations and combinations of consonant, vowel, and tone, although not every combination forms a word in general usage.

There are several compound consonants in which *g*, *y*, *r*, *l* and *w* are combined with other consonants after the manner of *c* and *l*, *g* and *y*, etc. in English. There are no closed syllables in the Sgaw dialect, every word ending in a vowel as in the Hawaiian language. This makes it very musical. It has sometimes been called the Italian of the Orient.

The Pwo dialect has more nasals and short and sharp 197
syllables than the Sgaw. It also has some final conso- 194
nants. In general the construction is not different from
the Sgaw. An early study of the two dialects showed
that thirteen-fourteenths of the words in the Sgaw and
Pwo are from the same roots. It is, however, difficult
for one who understands only the Sgaw dialect to under-

- 197 stand, Pwo because of the nasal effect on the pro-
194 nunciation.

197 The Bwè dialects, spoken near Toungoo in the hills
177 about Thandaung, have many nasal sounds and somewhat resemble the Pwo. Other dialects in the mountains differ quite widely from each other but the people in the hills speak several of these dialects for there is now much more intermingling than there was formerly when feuds kept the people apart and made it possible for different dialects to grow up even within a few miles of each other.

193 The grammar of the various dialects is not difficult. The sentence is formed after the same model as the English, with subject, verb, and object. The written and spoken language are very similar and direct. There are honorifics as in Burmese. There is no sex designation in the names of individuals, and so the Karens use *Saw* for all men and *Naw* for all women or girls.

212 When Westerners first came into contact with them
177 the Karens had no written language. But so urgent was
773 the demand of those who accepted the missionaries as
797 fulfilling the prophecies uttered by their old poets that some day they would be found by the "Younger White Brother" who would come across the sea in great ships "with white wings" and bring them the Book which their ancestors were supposed to have neglected and lost, that Dr. Wade, in about 1830, reduced the language of the Sgaw dialect to writing. He used the Burmese alphabet, for at that time any Karen who knew anything about reading could read in the Burmese language of the monastery. It was not then foreseen that English and the Roman letter would occupy such an important place in world affairs as they now enjoy.

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CHAPTER I

HABITAT AND TRIBAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE KAREN

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131 The Karen are a group of Indo-Chinese tribes living principally in Burma, the easternmost province of the British Indian Empire, in the Indo-Chinese peninsula, and in the adjoining country of Siam to the east. They are found between the tenth and twenty-first degrees of north latitude and between the ninety-fourth and one hundredth degrees of east longitude. The greater part of this territory they occupy in connection with the other peoples of the country, namely, the Burmese, Shan, Siamese, and Chin. 642
161 The only exclusively Karen country is the hilly region of the Toun-goo district and the Karenni subdivision, where the Karen chiefs of five states, comprising 4,830 square miles and a population of 42,240, are still in power under the Advisory Council of the British Government. There is also a Karen chief ruling one of the Shan States, and five other states in that section are ruled by Taungthu chiefs. In all these latter districts we find a mixed population.¹ [563]

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197 The whole group of Karen tribes can be divided into three divisions, according to their language or dialect differences. These are the Sgaw, Pwo, and Bwe groups.

The Sgaw group is the largest and most widely scattered. They are found all through the Irrawaddy Delta, from the vicinity of Promé southward, and from the Arracan coast eastward to the neighborhood of Lakong in Siam and southward to the lowest point of the British possessions. The Paku and Mawneppha tribes of the southern Toungoo Hills belong to this group. One dialect, with only slight variations, is used throughout this region.

The Pwo group comprises, besides the Pwo Karen, the Taungthu tribe, who call themselves the Pao. The Pwo are found along the seacoast from Arracan to Mergui and are said to be found nowhere more than fifty miles inland. However, I think that some of the Pwo villages in the Henzada district may be a little farther inland than that. The Taungthu are found in a section of country

¹ J. R. Scott: *Burma*, Appendix, pp. 470-481.

HABITAT AND TRIBAL DISTRIBUTION

running northward from Thaton into the Shan States beyond Taunggyi.

The Bwe tribes are found in the vicinity of Toungoo, in the territory extending from the foothills east of that city throughout the Karenni subdivision. This is a very mountainous region, and we find the people broken up into small tribes differing from one another in dialect, dress, and customs. Nine of these tribes were enumerated in the last Government census. The tendency of the present time is to consider these tribes more closely related than was formerly the case.

In the *Census Report* of the Government of India for the year 1911 we have the first enumeration of all Karens in the British territory. In former reports the Karenni territory was not included in the enumeration. The returns in 1911 showed a population of 1,102,695. This was an increase of 199,334 over the previous count in 1901, due in part to the increased extent of the territory covered. The enumeration, however, did not clearly distinguish between the Pwo and Sgaw branches of the race, due, as the *Report* says, to the fact that many returned themselves simply as Karens, without specifying to which branch they belonged. The total number of Pwos and Sgaws increased from 717,859 souls in 1901 to 872,825 in 1911, a gain of 154,966. This represents a real increase in population, for these tribes are all in Burma proper. The Pwo dialect is less persistent than the Sgaw, for more of its members are using Burmese to a much greater degree than the Sgaws, although the latter are also giving up their language where they are living in close contact with the Burmans. The Sgaw dialect is not "driving out the Pwo" as rumor says, but is merely holding its own better against the Burmese. Probably there are about half a million Sgaws in Burma and perhaps another 50,000 in Siam,² which would make them the most numerous branch of the race. The Taungthu were enumerated by themselves and, as has been said above, belong to the Pwo group. There were 183,054 of them in 1911. During the decade previous to that enumeration they had made an increase of 14,753 souls. The Pwo group would probably include altogether about 350,000 members and would stand second in point of numbers.³

¹ W. A. Graham, in the *Handbook of Siam*, estimates the Karen of that country at 20,000, but I think this estimate rather low.

² These citations are all from the *Census of India, 1911, Vol. IX, pp. 275, 2.*

THE KAREN PEOPLE OF BURMA

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the western part of ancient China. The first part of the name, "Ch," means "people," and the latter part, "Yang," is the distinctive tribal name. Turning now to the Karen word "Pgha K'Nyaw." "Pgha" is a general word meaning people. "K'Nyaw" is, according to my informant, composed of two elements: "K'," a prefix often found in the names of tribes in the vicinity of Burma and denoting a tribal group, as "Kachin," "Kethe," or "Karok" (as used by the Talaing of the Chinese). "Nyaw" is derived from "Yang," referred to above. The final nasal "ng" is softened in Karen to the open syllable "aw," following the analogy of many words occurring in the dialects or in Burmese and having nasal endings; and "n" and "ny" are interchangeable. Thus, if this reasoning is correct, "Pgha K'Nyaw" is derived from the ancient "Yang," and is like the source from which the Burmese "Kayin" is derived. This explanation affords another link connecting the Karen with the early dwellers within the confines of the present Chinese Republic.

● 197 The language of the Karen, after being classed in various ways, has now been recognized as a Sinitic language and, according to the last Burma Census (1911) is set down as belonging to the "Siamese-Chinese" sub-family of the Tibeto-Chinese languages, being grouped with the Tai or Shan. I feel sure that this last grouping is subject to revision by the philologists. While at first glance the relationship of these languages appears to be remote, Major H. R. Davies makes a very pertinent statement when he says: "Doubtless owing to phonetic change and the splitting of initial double consonants, many words have been altered beyond all hope of recognition, but a systematic study of the subject would, I believe, reveal many unsuspected resemblances."*

When we consider that many of these languages have never been fixed by written characters and that, within the past few decades, the Karen language has so changed that the bard literature of a century ago is almost unintelligible to the present generation, we can see how complicated the problem is and that it is only capable of solution, if at all, at the hands of experts.

193 The Karen language, as we now have it, is a monosyllabic agglutinated speech, with no final consonants in Sgaw Karen and with nasals and finals in other dialects. These are all marks of Sinitic

Dr. Martin in the *Love of Cathay* gives the names of the other three of the four ancient tribes of China as the Lo in the North, the Yi in the East, and the Man in the South.

* Maj. H. R. Davies, *Yunnan, The Link between Burma and the Yangtze*.

CHAPTER V LANGUAGE

In Chapter I I referred briefly to the relationship of the Karen dialects to the other languages of Burma and noted the bearing of that subject upon the question of the origin of the people. I adopted the grouping suggested in the last *Burma Census* (that of 1911), where those dialects are described as forming a Sinitic or Karen group of the Siamese-Chinese sub-family of the Tibeto-Chinese languages. This group comprises three principal branches, namely, the Sgaw, the Pwo (including the Taungthu), and the Bwe, which embraces several minor dialects in the Toungoo and Red Karen country. Some of these latter forms of speech have been very little studied. A few books have been published in Bwe, but at present are superseded by publications in the Sgaw. The Sgaw language was reduced to writing by Dr. Jonathan Wade in 1832, the Burmese alphabet being used in denoting most of the sounds, while certain symbols were employed for such letters as had no equivalent in Burmese. In this way a perfect phonetic alphabet was created. [212]

It may not be out of place in this connection to point out a few of the marked characteristics of the Karen language. The order of words in the sentence is that of the English, as well as of the Chinese and Tai, namely, subject, predicate, and object. The language is monosyllabic, except in a few instances, some of which are more apparent than real. Each root may be used in any form of speech, that is, as noun, adjective, verb, or adverb, by the addition of the proper particle or in combination with other roots. Each syllable has a signification of its own and a grammatical relation to one or more of the other syllables in every compound part of speech. 193

Dr. Wade calls attention to the fact that the Karen often use words in pairs, verbs being paired sometimes merely for the sake of euphony, though generally to give fullness and force to the idea intended. Such pairing of words, whether nouns, verbs, or other parts of speech, invest the Karen language, Dr. Wade thinks, with "a beauty and force of expression unsurpassed perhaps in any

193 other language in the world." These paired words, which are called by the Karen "father and mother words," may be parsed separately or together according to their position in the sentence. They may consist of two roots having similar meanings, or of a well-known root together with one which by itself has no meaning now commonly understood. Misapprehension is often avoided by the use of paired words. For example, "ni" (with the circumflex tone) means year, and the same syllable (with the long tone) means day. When this monosyllable is carelessly pronounced, one does not always catch the difference; but "ni-thaw" unmistakably denotes day, because "thaw" is another designation for this period of time; and "ni-la" clearly signifies year, the latter syllable meaning literally month. Such compound words may have compound modifiers which, when used with discrimination, give a pleasing finish to the speech.

197 The Sgaw dialect has six different tones and the Pwo an equal number. The other dialects have various numbers, but not so many and difficult as the tones of the Chinese language.

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194 The Sgaw alphabet consists of twenty-five consonants and ten vowels. One character appears both as a guttural and a consonant. There are no closed syllables in this dialect. The Pwo dialect has three nasal endings which, Dr. Gilmore thinks, are a remnant of the original speech. Evidence in support of this view is supplied by a comparison of the meanings of the single word "hpaw" in Sgaw Karen with the nasal forms expressing the same meanings in Pwo. In the former dialect "hpaw" means one of three things, namely, cook, flower, or granary, while in the latter these meanings require the use of three nasal forms as follows: "hpawn," "hpaw," and "hpan." Other roots from the two dialects show a difference of this sort, indicating that the Sgaw has dropped its original nasals.¹

193 There is no proper relative pronoun in Sgaw. The particle "leu" serves in this capacity, as well as doing duty as quotation marks, a preposition, and a part of every compound preposition, this last form of speech being one of the characteristics of the language. The reflexive use of the pronoun is a notable idiom in the Sgaw. The demonstrative supplies the place of the definite article. A numerical affix or adjective is employed with every numeral. Each of these affixes is supposed to denote the leading characteristic

¹ *Journal, Burma Research Society*, Vol. VIII, Pt. II, pp. 122, 2.

LANGUAGE

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of the noun to which it refers. Its use is similar to our saying in English "cattle, five head," or "bread, four loaves."

The verb is almost always considered transitive and, if there should be no word that could properly stand as its object, the nominal pronoun "ta" is added to supply it. The verb "to be" takes the objective case. The double negative is used with the verb after the manner of the French and Burmese idiom, "t—ba" corresponding to the Burmese "m—bu."

The Karen numerals are based on the decimal system not only from one to ten, but also upwards by tens and hundreds to tens of millions. There is, however, a marked peculiarity in the Bwe method of counting from six to nine, six being three couples; seven, three couples-one; eight, four couples, and nine, four couples-one.

The Pwo dialect does not differ materially from the Sgaw in structure, or greatly in vocabulary, as shown by a comparison of the two by Dr. Wade, which indicates that thirteen-fourteenths of the words of the Sgaw and Pwo are from the same roots. For one familiar only with the Sgaw dialect there is difficulty in immediately understanding the Pwo, because the nasals affect the pronunciation of the latter. The Bwe and other Toungoo dialects seem to have nasals and wide variations in tones. They also possess letters that are lacking in the Sgaw, such as g, j, z, and a peculiar dj that is impossible to represent in English letters. The Mopgha have the letter f, which they pronounce highly aspirated.¹ The Sgaw have no g, j, v, or z. They have both the aspirated and unaspirated k, t, and p. Besides these consonants, they have gutturals and combined consonants to which there are no parallels in Western speech.²

Although in the early days the Karen had no written language, it is not to be inferred that they were without a literature. On the contrary, a large quantity of bard literature was handed down orally from generation to generation, being taught by certain elders to the youths who were arriving at maturity, in order that they might transmit it in turn without change to those coming after them. This literature comprises probably more than two hun-

¹ Dr. Mason in the *Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1883, Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 129, 2.

² The *Grammar of the Karen language* by Dr. Wade, now reprinted at the American Baptist Missionary Press, Rangoon, Burma, and that by Dr. Giffmore, from which the writer has largely derived his materials for this chapter, are available for those who wish to make a study of the language. The *Karen Thesaurus*, an encyclopedic dictionary of the Karen language, people, and customs, is a valuable work. Volume I of the new edition, which appeared in 1915, is especially useful, as it contains definitions in English such as are not to be found in the later volumes.

Karen AP7
Karenni
Chin AP5

154

BURMA

The Karenni, or "Red

Karéns," have a language of Karén structure, but the people recall the truculent Kachin much more than the mild Karén. They inhabit a plateau about half the size of Wales, lying between the northern limit of the White Karéns and



348. KAREN HOOP-GAME.

the southern limit of Shans and Kachins. The *Karenni* are darker-skinned than the Karéns. They use red and black colours in their clothing; the men wear short pants, sleeveless Shan jackets, and a red *gaung-baung*. The women wear a black cloth, somewhat after the manner of the Siamese women; they do most of the labour, even the tilling of the rice-fields, which are on the Shan model; but *taungya* is practised also. They brew a liquor from millet-corn, which the men always carry in their gourd. The villages are permanent, situated on points of vantage, and are stockaded. Feuds between villages are chronic and form the chief concern of the male population. Such of the Karenni as settle in the lowlands adopt the Shan civilisation and dress.

The Chins are believed by some to represent the stock from which the Burman tribes originated, and to have descended into the valley of the Irawadi from the plateau of Tibet, with the inhabitants of which the Burmans and Chins possess linguistic affinities not shared by other races of the Peninsula. The Chins are the hill-people of the mountains west of the Irawadi and its great tributary the Chindwin. The tribes are many and diverse. Towards the south and on the borders of the plains they are Burmanised in a great measure, and have dropped their primitive characteristics, notably their language. They call themselves Ashó. The black tattooing of the women's faces, which is the most distinctive of



349. KAREN WOMAN WEAVING.

K

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K

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SECTION B

KAREN AND CHINESE

1. Introduction

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[121]
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● 197
[121]
Having completed a review of the Tibeto-Burman kinship terminologies, the writer now proposes to discuss in summary fashion the salient points of the Karen and Chinese nomenclatures. Karen and Tibeto-Burman together constitute the western branch of the Sino-Tibetan stock, the eastern branch of which is represented by Chinese (Sinitic) and the Sinitic element in Thai. The term "Indo-Chinese" has been employed in a somewhat broader sense to include Thai itself, and the latter family is commonly coupled with Chinese in contrast to Tibeto-Burman. This view has been developed in a masterly study by Wulff and is shared by Maspero, a pioneer in Thai linguistics. The writer himself was originally partial toward this view, but more intensive investigations of the Thai languages have led to the conviction that a wholly distinct substratum is involved here, and that the Sinitic elements constitute little more than a veneer, albeit an ancient one. A rapprochement with Indonesian has been initiated, largely on the basis of a newly discovered linguistic group in southern China, northern Tonkin, and the island of Hainan. This newly recognized group, consisting of Kelao (southern China), Laqua (northern Tonkin), and Dai or Loi (Hainan), has been named "Kadai". Kadai is notable for its retention

ST⁵
197 of a numeral system based on Indonesian roots in connection
K
197 with numerous Thai features, and serves to explain certain
resemblances between Thai and Indonesian.

The connection between Tibeto-Burman and Chinese, long a favorite theme with philological speculators, can now be regarded as established (Simon, Shafer, Benedict). The relationship is an ancient one, however, comparable with that between Indo-European and Hittite or between Semitic and Hamitic, and generalizations covering the phonological relations of the two families can be drawn only with the utmost difficulty. Karen stands in an altogether different type of relationship with Tibeto-Burman, and these two families must be derived from a common origin (Tibeto-Karen) as opposed to Chinese (vide the discussion in pt. 2). The following set of roots illustrates the lexical affinities of Chinese with Tibeto-Burman and Karen; forms are cited for Ancient Chinese (6th century), Archaic TB (as reconstructed by the writer), and five Karen dialects.

	<u>Chinese</u>	<u>TB</u>	<u>Taungthu</u>	<u>Zayain</u>	<u>Sgaw</u>	<u>Pwo</u>	<u>Mopgha</u>
five	nguo (五)	{el-nga eb-nga	ngat	{ngā nyā	yā	yai	zā
I	nguo (吾)	*nga	-	{nga nya	ya	ya	za
fish	ngiwo (魚)	*ngya	-	-	nya	ya	-
plantain	-	*ngak	nga	-	ya	ya	za

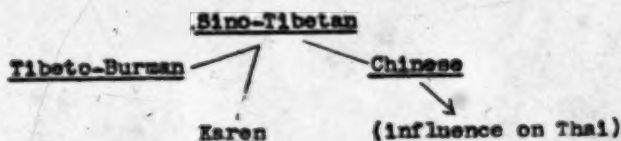
Note Sgaw y- < ng- but ny- < ngy-, and cf. Tib. nga < *nga "I" but nya < *ngya "fish". The root for "plantain" illustrates the type of "partial equation" between Tibeto-Burman and Karen

Shan-Thai AL3

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ST which is frequently encountered (in this instance the root is
197 perhaps an old loan-word in Karen).

K
197 The relationships among Tibeto-Burman, Karen, Chinese,
and Thai can conveniently be diagrammed as follows:



Sh
197 In view of the peculiar linguistic position occupied by
601 Thai, the kinship terminologies of the several Thai languages
have been omitted from consideration in the present study.

The writer has examined the kinship terms used in Siamese, Lao, Shan, Khamti, Ahom, Black Tai, Tho, Mung, and Diol, however, and is thus able to make a few general observations. The Thai system is remarkable for its uniformity from group to group, though it must be remembered that the Thai languages in general are fairly uniform. Age distinctions are even more prominent than in Tibeto-Burman, and appear both in the Sb and PSb terms (*bi oSb, *nong ySb; *lung FoB, MoB, *pa MoSi, FoSi). The collateral lines tend to be merged in the PSb terminology, as in Lowie's "lineal" type, yet the Sb terms are extended to include both pC and xC, e.g. Siamese nong is defined as "kindred of a younger branch, younger brother or sister, cousins, spouse, mistress" (in the standard Siamese lexicon by Pallegoix). Four g² terms are found in some Thai languages though not in all and undoubtedly must be regarded as forming part of the basic pattern, e.g.

2. Karen

101 The Karen dialects are spoken in Lower Burma and the
197 Shan States. Our studies of Karen are still in a preliminary stage, but enough work has been done to show that this family represents an archaic offshoot from the Tibeto-Burman stock. The present position of the Karen groups, in the lower Salween valley and the Salween-Mekong divide, suggests that the Karen became detached from the main body of Tibeto-Burman-speaking peoples at a relatively early date and migrated southward, probably via the Salween valley, at a period considerably antedating that of the general Burmish-Loloish expansion. At present the Karen are hemmed in on all sides by groups speaking quite distinct languages, viz. the Tibeto-Burman-speaking Burmese and Southern Lolo, the Thai-speaking Shan, and the Mon-Khmer-speaking De and Palaung. The Mon, also of Mon-Khmer stock, must have exerted considerable influence on the Karen at a somewhat earlier period.

193 Karen agrees with Chinese and Thai, and sharply differs
197 from Tibeto-Burman, in placing the object after rather than before the verb. It is on the basis of this feature, and of this feature alone, that Karen has generally been grouped with Chinese and Thai. On the lexical side, however, Karen is basically affiliated with Tibeto-Burman, though it has developed a considerable body of distinctive roots of its own and occasionally shows some affinity for Chinese, e.g. the Karen root *su "hand" corresponds to Chinese shu (手). The

193 minerals are distinctly Tibeto-Burman rather than Chinese-
197 Thai. Tones are more prominent in Karen than in Chinese,
Thai, or Tibeto-Burman. The modern Karen dialects are
characterized by elaborate tonal systems and abound in phrases
composed of two or more vocables, each often representing a
distinct root. Prefixes are employed to a limited degree, but
on the whole appear to belong to a later morphological stratum
than those found in Tibeto-Burman. All the Karen dialects
have experienced great phonetic degeneration, especially with
respect to finals. Final nasals seem to have fallen together
at an early period, and even this secondary nasalization is
now maintained only in Pwo and Taungthu, while final stops
are represented only in Taungthu. The following sets of roots
show the Karen correspondences for final -um and -ung, as
reconstructed on the basis of the TB cognates:

Final -um

	<u>TB</u>	<u>Pwo</u>	<u>Taungthu</u>	<u>Scaw</u>	<u>Bghai</u>	<u>Karenni</u>
three	*(g-)sum	θũ	θũ	θɔ	θɔ	θɔ
ant	-	t'ũ	t'ũ	tɔ	tɔ	tɔ

Final -ung

		<u>Pwo</u>	<u>Taungthu</u>	<u>Scaw</u>	<u>Bghai</u>	<u>Karenni</u>
stone	*lung	lũ	lũ	lɔ	lɔ	lau
horn	-	nũ	nũ	nɔ	nɔ	neu

Note that the two series are distinguished only in Pwo
and Karenni. Note also θ- < s-, a Karen feature.

197 The Karen dialectical divisions are in general of minimal
significance, as indicated in the above tabulations. Taungthu,

197 which preserves final stop consonants in some instances, is the aberrant member of the group, though it approaches Pwo in many respects. The literary dialects are Sgaw, spoken throughout the Irrawaddy Delta, and Pwo, spoken primarily in coastal districts. The remaining Karen dialects, spoken in the Karenni Subdivision and other mountainous inland areas, are often grouped together under the general term "Bwe" (as in Marshall), but several distinct dialectical groups are included. The best list is that given by Taylor, who cites five groups (in addition to Sgaw, Pwo, and Tsungthu), viz. Mopwa (= Mopgha); Karenbyu ("White Karen"), Bwe, and Brek; Karenni ("Red Karen"); Padaung, Yinbaw, and Cheko; Zayein. Gilmore and Mason have contributed brief discussions of the phonetic shifts that obtain among the several Karen dialects, but this linguistic field otherwise remains untouched. Most of the observations made in the present study are based on the writer's own studies.

601 Of primary importance for Karen kinship terminology are the lists of terms in Webb's census report. Much additional material has been obtained from the word-lists in Scott's Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States, but relatively few kinship terms are included in these lists. The best recorded terms are those found in the LSI (1928), by L. F. Taylor, but these are of similarly restricted scope. The Sgaw terms have been checked from the standard Sgaw dictionaries (in Karen script) by Wade, a pioneer in this field, while some use has also been made of the Pwo dictionary by Duffin.